

INTELLIGENCE:

Our Man at State

Over the years, U.S. intelligence operations have often given the impression that the cloak did not know what the dagger was doing. Within the vast, interlocking network of agencies that make up what is known as the "intelligence community," intramural bickering and poor



J.H. Drexler/1973

Cline: 'Betwixt and between'

coordination have played a key role in every major intelligence blunder—from Francis Gary Power's wayward U-2 flight to the Bay of Pigs. Now, however, the Nixon Administration is moving quietly to sort out the lines of communication.

Senior Administration officials reject words like "overhaul" and "shake-up" to describe the changes in the intelligence community. But the effect has been the same. Operating with a minimum of fuss, the White House has given a new look to the top echelon of intelligence personnel, installing new chiefs at the supersecret National Security Agency (which concentrates on monitoring radio transmissions and breaking codes) and at the Defense Intelligence Agency (which evaluates information gathered by the armed forces). Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird now has a "Special Assistant for Intelligence," Assistant Secretary Robert F. Froehke, who among other things controls all the budget strings of the Pentagon's manifold intelligence activities. On top of all this, Mr. Nixon had Central Intelligence Agency director Richard Helms—a man of exceptionally high standing in the Administration—set up a top-level interagency committee to supervise the over-all allocation of resources within the intelligence community.

But the innovation that raised most eyebrows in Washington was the appointment of Ray S. Cline, 51, a veteran CIA officer, to head the Bureau of Intelligence and Research in the Department of State. The appointment, which reportedly originated in the White House but had the approval of Secretary of State William Rogers, places a CIA hand in the sensitive State Department intelligence post for the first time. The Administration knew that hostile propagandists would cite the appointment as living proof that the State Department is really run by the CIA. But when Rogers set out to replace the present head of the intelligence section, Thomas L. Hughes (who has been posted to London as minister-counselor), he was looking for professionalism that was available only within the intelligence community itself. "Rogers wasn't trying to turn the State Department into another spook house," said one official. "But the intelligence bureau was too much of a library and clipping service, and he felt that State needed sharper and more imaginative work."

Invention: With Cline at the helm, State is likely to get what it is looking for. He holds an impressive set of credentials. Born in Anderson, Ill., and educated at Harvard and Oxford universities, he first came to Washington as a cryptanalyst in 1942 and has subsequently served as chief of the national-estimates staff (the key CIA group that produces the famous "country estimates" on which much of U.S. foreign policy is based), chief of the CIA's Sino-Soviet section, station chief of the huge China-watching complex in Taiwan and, most recently, the CIA's man in Bonn. In the shake-up that followed the Bay of Pigs in 1961, Cline became deputy director for intelligence—one of the four top deputy slots in the CIA. When John McCone left the agency, Cline came within a hair of becoming CIA director. Just before the CIA dispatched Cline to Bonn, he bluntly told McGeorge Bundy and other top Johnson aides that McCone's successor, Vice Adm. William Raborn, was ineffectual at his new job. A few months later, Raborn was replaced by the current CIA chief, Richard Helms. To every assignment, Cline brought an intellectual bent seldom found in intelligence operations. "The real invention of modern intelligence organization," he said recently, "is the awareness that it takes scholarship—that more is required than chasing fire trucks. I'm not a cloak-and-dagger twirler. I want to explore relevance in social science terms."

Even for a man of Cline's expertise and experience, the new post—which carries with it a seat on the U.S. Intelligence Board and the hush-hush 303 Committee that rules on complex operations—will have its pitfalls. "State wants me because they figure I'll monitor the CIA better," says Cline, "and the agency's delighted to have me because they think I'll represent their interests at State. I guess I'm sort of betwixt and between."

GUEST COMMENTARY

The CIA And The Green Berets: A Strange Case Of Mistaken Identities?

By L. FLETCHER PROUTY

SECRETARY OF THE ARMY Stanley R. Resor, has announced that he has dropped the charges against all eight U.S. Army Special Forces "Green Beret" soldiers in Vietnam.

His statement has come as quite a surprise.

But not so long ago the Navy was faced with the same problem, and it quietly dropped charges threatened against Commander Bucher and the crew of the ill-fated spy ship PUEBLO.

There is a strong parallel that shows what's really at issue.

At the time of the PUEBLO inquiry the Director of Central Intelligence announced in a letter to Senator Stuart Symington (D-Mo) that the CIA was not involved in the PUEBLO affair. Similarly, it has been reported, VAdm William F. Raborn, former CIA Director and onetime Patriarch of the Polaris submarine fleet, has said that CIA had nothing to do with the Green Beret case.

Taken in limited and specific context, both of these statements are unquestionably true. However, the PUEBLO—at the time of its capture—was sailing under the operational control of another highly classified government agency (not the CIA). As a result, the Navy was unable to press charges

against the PUEBLO Captain and crew—not only because the PUEBLO was not then under Navy control, but also because so many of the crew were *not* bona fide Navy personnel.

In Vietnam, the Green Berets of the Special Forces were under the operational control of the CIA and, in spite of Secretary Resor's protestation that the CIA would not make witnesses available in connection with the pending trials, that may not be the real problem. The Army is having to face up to the fact that, since it had relinquished operational control of the Special Forces involved, it no longer had legal grounds for pressing formal military charges against them. In brief, the CIA may not have had anything to do with the "case"—the alleged murder; but it was involved, as it has been for years, with the operational activities of that Special Forces unit.

To the uninitiated, this may sound like splitting hairs over an insignificant point. But to those who have watched the growth of Special Forces while their activities came increasingly under the operational control of CIA, it is a most basic and crucial one. It may well turn out, when more of the facts are uncovered, that more than half of these U. S. Army Special Forces soldiers were *not* U. S. Army personnel at all. If a number of these men were not in fact bona fide officers and enlisted men of the U. S. Army, it would be extremely unlikely that any court, military and civilian, would grant the Army the authority to court martial and try them, even under the circumstances which the Army alleged to have taken place.

What it all boils down to is that five of the "Green Berets" weren't.

Those men who are bona fide military personnel will be reassigned: they may, at a time and place of their own choosing, remain on duty, or resign from the Service to pursue other interests. Those who are *not* members of the Army will also be reassigned (as if they were real military men) to await the day when they can begin their military careers with the CIA (or whatever their parent organization is).



ILT JOHN B. SALTER, Psychological Warfare Officer, Det A 236, checks .30 cal. machine gun field of fire from a bunker at Camp Bu Franz.

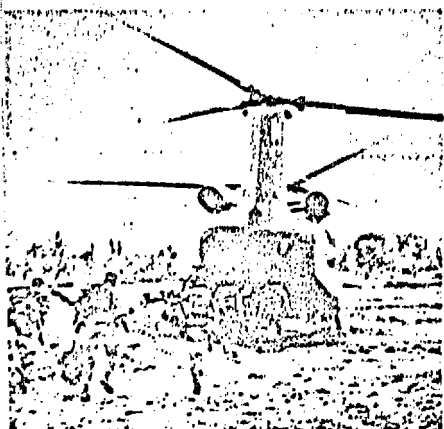
STAT

But this most recent development in the Green Beret case—this announcement by Secretary Resor—still leaves unsettled several major issues: one of them of immediate importance to MACV Commander General Creighton Abrams in Vietnam. It is most likely that, if the General and his staff had known last July what they now know about all of these men, they would have taken other measures from the outset. But one thing is certain. General Abrams, unlike his predecessors, is not going to accept the continuation of this kind of a "cover-story" Army in his Command. It's hard enough to maintain the morale and spirit of a large fighting force when it is actively and energetically engaged with the enemy; but during a period of peace negotiations and disengagement, maintenance of morale and military effectiveness becomes an unenviable task. It's virtually an impossible one when a large part of the "command" turns out to work for someone outside the system.

Already there have been cases of near-mutiny and deep unrest in certain units of General Abrams' command; the unpopular and generally degrading episode of this Green Beret affair will not help matters. It is to be expected that we shall see the departure of the Special Forces units, as we now know them, from South Vietnam. If General Abrams' superiors feel as he does and back him up in the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the National Security Council, we may eventually see the Special Forces organized out of the Army (just as their original counterpart forces were dropped by the Air Force many years ago).

This still leaves two important matters to be settled in Washington. Secretary Resor's statement ended the trial in Vietnam before it started; but it does not clear up the question of responsibility for a brutal murder.

Either a murder was committed, or it wasn't. If someone is guilty, or he is not. The facts have not changed simply because the CIA decides that its



CIVILIAN IRREGULARS board a Chinook helicopter on mission from 5th Special Forces Camp in Vietnam.

WASHINGTON POST

4 OCT 1969

CIA Aide to Head State Department Intelligence Unit

Ray S. Cline, a 51-year-old key Central Intelligence Agency official for many years, was named yesterday to head the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research as of Nov. 1.

He succeeds Thomas L. Hughes, who has gone to London as No. 2 in the American Embassy.

This is the first time a CIA official has been named to the post although it once was held by an Army intelligence expert. The bureau, as State put it yesterday, is the department's "point of contact" with all other government intelligence agencies and Cline will be a member of the Board of National Estimates.

Cline in 1962-66 was chief of CIA's intelligence division. He left that job to become station chief in West Germany, his current post, a few months before Richard Helms, who then was his co-equal as head of the operational division, was named the CIA director.

At the time Cline was reported to have asked for an overseas assignment because, for one reason, he found the then director, Adm. William F. Raborn, difficult to work with.

Both the State Department and Cline himself reportedly have worried lest the appointment appear to indicate a CIA supremacy in the intelligence field. The post is not subject to senatorial confirmation although it carries the rank of an assistant secretary.

The announcement acknowledged Cline's CIA connection by saying that since 1949 he had been "associated with various U.S. government agencies, including the CIA, here and abroad."

Cline came to Washington

in 1962 from Taipei, Taiwan, where he was instrumental in the U-2 overflights of Red China. He is a close friend of Chiang, Ching-kuo, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's son and expected successor. His CIA post there was disguised as director of the U.S. Naval Auxiliary Communications Center.

A Ph.D. and Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Harvard, where he also earned his bachelor's and master's degrees, Cline has the analytical turn of mind Secretary of State William P. Rogers sees as needed in the post. The announcement noted that the bureau is "responsible for rapid analysis of current information on events around the world and for transmission of this information to the Secretary and chief policy makers" and is the "principal source of long-range forecasts and analysis of political, economic and sociological trends throughout the world."

Cline studied history at Oxford in 1939-40, was a Navy crypto-analyst in 1942-43, headed the current intelligence staff of the wartime OSS in 1943-46 and is described as having worked in the Army Historical Division in 1946-49. A native of Clark County, Ill., he is married to the former Marjorie Wilson and has two daughters.

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RAMPARTS

OCT 1969

Sinews of Emp



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by David Horowitz

continued

SAN DIEGO, CAL.
 TRIBUNE
 OCT 1 1969
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Raborn Thinks CIA Had No Direct Role

By DICK FINN

The former director of the Central Intelligence Agency said last night he believed the CIA "was not directly involved" in the death of a Vietnamese civilian which resulted in murder charges being brought—and then dropped—against six Special Forces officers.

Speaking to the World Affairs Council of San Diego County at El Cortez Hotel, Vice Adm. William F. Raborn Jr., USN, ret., said he agreed with the official position that cross-examination at a trial might expose information "that would endanger the national security."

Director's Duties Explained

Raborn explained the duties of the director of Central Intelligence, a post he accepted during the Johnson administration, as "coordinator of all the intelligence activities of the United States government."

"It's not all cloak and dagger," he said. "Some of it is not very exciting."

The CIA's responsibility, Raborn said, was to keep America's leaders informed of developments in foreign countries that might affect the United States.

'Often a Scapegoat'

He asserted much of this information was gathered through academic studies, although he did mention the use of "third country travelers, satellites and peripheral radar."

Raborn said the CIA was often used as a scapegoat by the "ultra liberal press" which was "using sensationalism to sell newspapers."

"The intelligence community is the whipping boy," he said, noting that the CIA "by law has to remain secret and is a very convenient agency to blame."

Raborn returned to a post as vice president of the Aerojet-General Corp. of El Monte in August, 1966, following 14 months service with the CIA.

WICHITA, KAN.
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SEP 27 1969

CIA Involvement Denied in Beret Case

Green Beret Accused, 18A

By ARNOLD LEWIS
Eagle Aerospace Writer

Involvement of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in the controversial Green Beret murder case in South Vietnam was strongly denied here Friday by Vice Adm. William F. Raborn (Ret.), former CIA director.

"There is absolutely no truth that the CIA was involved in this," the admiral said at a Friday afternoon press conference. He called such charges "red herring" on the part of those involved to throw off some of their own responsibility.

Raborn was in Wichita to address the Aviation-Space Writers Association and several other local aerospace-oriented organizations Friday night on the so-called "military-industrial complex."

EIGHT GREEN BERET officers and enlisted men, including the former Green Beret commander in Vietnam, have been charged with killing a suspected South Vietnamese double agent.

Critics of the case have accused the CIA with ordering the assassination of the agent.

Attacking critics of the CIA, Raborn said during the press conference that "a lot of people talk about a lot of subjects about which they know nothing."

The primary aim of the CIA, he said, is to uncover the efforts of the Soviet Union's intelligence activities and expose them for what they are.

"IF YOU THINK we can continue to exist without the CIA, I'm awfully afraid you're wrong."

Raborn was director of the super-secret U.S. intelligence arm in 1965 and 1966, following a long and distinguished naval career that, among other things, earned him the title of "Father of the Polaris Missile."

He now is vice president and general representative for the Aerojet-General Corp., Washington, D.C.

RABORN DESCRIBED 99 per cent of the CIA's activities as "good, churchgoing community efforts to help safeguard our very way of life."

Only the remaining 1 per cent, or less involves so-called "cloak and dagger" activities, he said.

"No, heavens no," he replied when asked if he thought the nation's intelligence machinery was becoming too large and complicated to operate efficiently.

"If anything, our intelligence structure is too small. I think it should be larger."

Raborn expressed serious reservations about the concept of an all-volunteer military organization.

PEOPLE GENERATING opposition to the draft, he said, "don't like the draft, don't want to fight for their country and want someone else to do it for them."

On military spending, he said the nation has been consistently spending only 8 per cent of the gross national product for defense, while the gross national product has continued to climb.

The Soviet threat is increasing. We know that from hard intelligence. But the mood in Congress has never been to give the military a blank check.

RABORN CHASTISED what he defined as a "vociferous minority" in Congress on military spending.

"In the civilian sector, we should not become too involved in the executive and military conduct of the war (in Vietnam) when we do not have all the facts."

Even with an end to the war, the nation will continue to have a sizable military budget as long as the threat from the Communist bloc continues to exist, he said.

DISPUTING THE term "military-industrial complex," Raborn said he preferred Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird's phrase, "arsenal for democracy."

Raborn said much of the current furor concerning military purchasing can be laid to the policy of former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara of buying at the lowest price.

"People (defense contractors) were encouraged to cut things to the bone and they came in with unrealistic bids."

"The military has done a remarkably good job in buying the things they need for combat. We've fought half a dozen major wars in memory and have come off victorious."

"And we have left it to the military, not a bunch of young college grads who have never shouldered a musket and whose only task was to program a computer," Raborn said.

"THEY SHOULD not have that final decision. That's how our country has remained free. I shudder to think what will happen with less than expert guidance."

Raborn predicted that "The Soviet space effort with a military bent will come up with some startling developments in the near future that will cause us to markedly increase our own military space efforts."

"We have nothing to neutralize an orbiting nuclear weapon. What do you think we ought to be doing about that?"

The nation's military space efforts to date have been "miniscule," he said.

Wichita, Kansas Eagle
27 September 1969

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Staff Photo

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SAN DIEGO, CAL.
TRIBUNE

SEP 23 1969
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CIA Story To Be Told

The Women's Association of the World Affairs Council of San Diego will host a bi-monthly series of dinners this season to honor outstanding speakers presented by the Council.

Mrs. Marion Longstreth is general chairman of the Women's Association and Mrs. Robert Letts Jones is in charge of arrangements.

The events will open with a dinner Sept. 30 at 7:30 p.m. at the El Cortez Hotel. Honored guest will be Vice Adm. William Raborn, USN (ret) who will speak on "The CIA Story-
The Protector of Democracy."

Mrs. Carl Olson is dinner chairman.

Reservations may be made with professor Minos D. Generales, World Affairs Council.

SAN DIEGO, CAL.
INDEPENDENT
SEP 18 1969
SEMI-WEEKLY \$2,650

Former Head of CIA Opens Lecture Series

SAN DIEGO—V/Adm. William F. Raborn, Jr., U.S. Navy (ret.), 64, will open a fall season of monthly lectures sponsored by the World Affairs Council of San Diego.

Raborn, director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency for 14 months, will speak about the CIA Tuesday, Sept. 30, at 7:30 p.m., in the Cotillion Room, El Cortez Hotel.

Aerojet

He returned to a post as vice president for Aerojet-General Corporation of El Monte, following service with the CIA in August 1966. He makes his headquarters in the company's Washington office.

Before President Johnson named him to head the CIA, Raborn had been with Aerojet for nearly two years as vice president for program management. Preceding that, he had headed up the Navy's Polaris Fleet Ballistic Missile Program.

Polaris Pop

Raborn, referred to as the "Father of the Polaris," introduced new management techniques which led to the establishment of the Polaris years ahead of schedule.

His "get it done" philosophy

permeated the Navy's special projects group which he led from its inception in December, 1955, until he was appointed deputy chief of Naval operations for research and development in March, 1962.

His methods of technical-cost planning, reporting and program control have been widely adopted for use in major government and industry activities.

After 39 years of Naval service, Raborn joined Aerojet as vice president on Sept. 1, 1963. He was graduated from the Naval Academy in 1928, and was designated naval aviator in 1934.

His varied career included

duty on battleships, destroyers, and aircraft carriers, as well as research and development activity on guided missiles for the Bureau of Ordnance and Office of the Chief of Naval Operations.

Medals

The Distinguished Service Medal, the Silver Star Medal, the Bronze Star Medal and the Navy unit Commendation Ribbon are among his many awards.

In 1961, he received the Robert J. Collier trophy of the National Aeronautic Association for his work with Polaris.

Raborn was born in DeCatur, Tex., and went directly

to the Naval Academy after graduation from high school in Marlow, Okla.

The World Affairs Council begins its second year of activity under the leadership of Col. Irving Salomon.

Minos D. Generales, professor of political science at San Diego State, is executive director. The council is a community educational organization with the purpose of discussing contemporary problems in international relations.

CIA's Helms in Nixon's Doghouse

By Marianne Means

WASHINGTON—The White House is losing confidence in Central Intelligence Agency Director Richard Helms, who is the coordinator of all government cloak-and-dagger activities and in theory the President's principal intelligence advisor.

"There's no doubt about it. Helms is really in the doghouse," a high-ranking Administration official revealed privately.

President Nixon's increasing doubts about Helms have become so evident the intelligence community hears that Helms will soon be eased out. CIA morale is sagging steadily as officials observe their director's diminishing influence.

CIA reports are increasingly challenged at the White House with skeptical queries such as, "are you really sure this isn't larded with your own opinion?" The CIA was not consulted by the President before he made his decision to visit Rumania. (Indeed, Helms would have counselled against it).

Helms-Laird Feud

White House skepticism was apparently triggered by a sharp disagreement between Helms and Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird over the Soviet missile threat. Several months ago Laird tried to win over opponents to the President's proposed ABM system by publicly warning that the Soviet Union was going for a first-strike missile capability.

This warning, however, contradicted what Helms had previously told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in private session. Helms had declared that he thought the Soviet Union was currently concentrating upon developing defensive rather than offensive capability.



"Your mission is...this tape will self-destruct"

As a result, Laird was called on the carpet by the Senate Committee, most of whose members oppose ABM and who subjected him to a testy five-hour closed door session. Laird insisted that Helms accompany him to the confrontation, but afterward publicly retreated somewhat from his dramatic warning. Laird acknowledged that the only Soviet first-strike weapon had a limited capacity and purpose.

CIA Being Ignored

The Senators may have preferred Helms' evaluation, but Laird remains convinced that his own hawkish view is correct and Helms is dangerously un-

derestimating Soviet. Laird's thinking was colored by the fact that embarrassed him and ended the Administration of the ABM.

Nevertheless his reaction in the past few weeks has been to rely heavily upon the Pentagon's own intelligence services and virtually ignore the CIA.

President Nixon, it appears, is inclined to side with his Secretary of Defense against Helms, who is a Johnson appointee and a career official in the CIA.

Indeed, a dubious attitude in the white House toward CIA evaluations may be a healthy thing. Think how differently everything might have turned out if President Johnson had not waged the war in Vietnam based upon CIA estimates of Viet Cong military and political manpower, which have proved to be consistently too low.

White House dissatisfaction with Helms may not necessarily lead to his forced departure in the near future. He could restore the President's faith in him with some brilliant spy coup the world will never learn about.

And it is not so easy to find directors for the federal spying apparatus, which is after all a rather specialized field. Remember, President Johnson's selection of Admiral William Raborn to be CIA chief? Raborn stayed one year and was a total disaster.

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The Military-Industrial Complex

During the United States' first major military debate in the 1780s, Sen. William Maclay of Pennsylvania cried out: "Give Knox his army and he will soon have a war on hand." Henry Knox, Secretary of War under President George Washington, did not get the six-fold increase in manpower he wanted, but in 1790 he did persuade Congress to increase his force from 886 officers and men to 1,273. A year later, his army equipped and ready, Knox fulfilled Maclay's prophecy by opening "offensive operations" against the Indians of the Western frontiers—with the approval of the Congress.

This episode from the earliest days of the nation's history illustrates the profoundly ambivalent attitudes with which Americans contemplate the military, its power, and its influence. And once in a great, great while, the nation joins in a clamorous debate in an effort to sort out its attitudes about these matters. Last week, for the first time since Sen. Gerald Nye's famed "merchants of death" investigation in the 1930s, the country was engaged in just such a great debate.

Juggernaut: At issue is the so-called military-industrial complex, a term considerably less inflammatory than Nye's merchants of death, but no less controversial. Quite simply the MIC consists of the sprawling Pentagon, and its network of defense suppliers and research facilities that together produce America's armed might. During the course of the cold war it has grown into an \$80 billion-a-year juggernaut consuming a tenth of the nation's giant-sized gross national product.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who in his now famous farewell address on leaving the Presidency coined the very phrase "military-industrial complex", recognized the dangers inherent in the development of this vast establishment. He defended it as vital to national defense. But the President warned that it was "new in the American experience" and that "we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought," by the MIC. Retired Lt. Gen. James M. Gavin, now head of the management-consultant and scientific-research firm of Arthur D. Little, Inc., supports this view. Gavin says that "the military's influence has been too great in planning national strategy— which is what the military-industrial complex is all about." And judging from the furor now going on in Washington, many in Congress seem to feel that Eisenhower's forebodings have become reality. With critical domestic programs desperately short of funds, the MIC is under attack for its huge size, its great influence, its method of doing business—and even its inefficiency.

In one respect, the current debate now raging is similar to the one

stirred up by Nye. Questions raised in Congress about the excess costs involved in a single military contract—for the C-5A military transport—already have cast a cloud over the resignation of an Air Force Assistant Secretary—Robert Charles, and may well harm the careers of many other officials and officers. Democratic Sen. William Proxmire of Wisconsin has called for an investigation of some C-5A dealings for "possible violations of criminal law." Senate Minority Whip Edward Kennedy, for his part, actually criticized recent U.S. military operations in the A Shau Valley of Vietnam, terming them

*Apparently stung by this and other attacks on the military, Gen. William C. Westmoreland, former supreme commander in Vietnam and now Army Chief of Staff, dispatched a letter urging all Army men to promote a better image for their branch of service. "Image," wrote Westmoreland, "is defined as 'a mental picture.' We must do everything in our power to insure that the mental picture Americans have of the Army is that of a winner—an efficient, dynamic, dedicated and socially progressive organization."

"both senseless and irresponsible." War hero and former commandant of the Marines Gen. David Shoup has charged that "America has become a militaristic and aggressive nation." Sen. Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin says: "The whole economy is infiltrated. We are a warfare state."

There is much more such criticism to come. Congressmen all over Capitol Hill are planning studies and hearings. This week, Senator Proxmire's subcommittee on economy in government will hold hearings on "the military budget and national priorities," featuring such critics of the military as economist John Kenneth Galbraith and Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman J. William Fulbright.

Sloppy: One big issue in the debate is the sheer size of the MIC, which is now the nation's largest single activity. It employs one in every ten working Americans, either in service with the military or with its more than 120,000 individual suppliers. They include hundreds of universities where scientists do everything from basic research to the design and manufacture of nuclear warheads. The MIC's funds purchase products ranging from aircraft (\$7 billion), ammunition (\$2.9 billion) and ships (\$898 million) to furniture (\$20.2 million) and musical instruments (\$1.6 million). Thus dispensed, the money flows into every state in the Union and at least 363 of the nation's 435 Congressional districts. Scattered throughout the United States there are whole towns that are completely dependent for their life on the MIC (page 77).

No one outside of a few New Left revolutionaries believes that the military-industrial complex is a conspiracy of blood-thirsty generals and greedy contractors plotting to foment wars. Like Topsy, the MIC just grew. But some, such as Sen. George McGovern and fourteen other

Democrats, do feel that there is profiteering from the war in Vietnam, and last week called for an excess-profits tax to eliminate it (the measure has little chance). Many more critics charge that Pentagon procurement procedures are so sloppy that the nation wastes billions of dollars on unneeded weapons, and that the costs of nearly everything are simply out of control.

In the Senate, all the suspicions have come together in an unprecedented attack on the Safeguard anti-ballistic-missile system and its Sprint and Spartan missiles. President Nixon—as did President Johnson before him—strongly endorsed the system and this spring asked Congress for \$6 billion to \$7 billion to deploy Safeguard on a test basis around two U.S. Minuteman missile sites in North Dakota and Montana.

Defeat? The Senate has not seriously opposed a major weapons system sought by a President in years. But as of last week the opposition to Safeguard was so great that observers conceded opponents an outside chance of handing the President a humiliating defeat on the ABM issue. And even if they don't, the experts say, the critics will have forced Mr. Nixon to use up so much political capital that they may be able to slash several billions of dollars from other military-hardware appropriations. "It feels like 1929 must have felt to the Wall Streeters," said a veteran defense lobbyist. "A hard rain will fall before this blows over."

Reasons for the Congressional assault on the MIC this year are not hard to find. For one thing, an anti-military political climate is abroad in the country. Successful student-faculty assaults on Reserve Officers Training Corps programs have been mounted at a dozen Eastern colleges this year, and the rebellious mood is catching. But Congress is also outraged over the soaring costs and technical problems of a whole list of current defense projects. The troubled projects include the C-5A transport (excess costs variously estimated at \$382 million to \$2 billion) and the Cheyenne helicopter (it has mechanical bugs). Only weeks ago, the Pentagon canceled Lockheed's \$875 million production contract for the Cheyenne.

Another source of rebellion is outrage over the Pentagon's lack of candor—to say the very least—in recent dealings with Congress and the taxpaying public. After repeated public denials, the Army last month was forced to admit to an angry House subcommittee that a nerve-gas experiment in Utah had indeed accidentally destroyed 6,000 sheep early last year. Also, some congressmen were angered to learn that the Pentagon—following standard procedure to be sure—had omitted from ABM cost estimates the \$1.2 billion in nuclear warheads that will have to be supplied by the Atomic Energy Commission.

continued

Espionage Under the Cover of Sociology

VI. ZHUKOV

REPRESENTATIVES of the U.S. organisation Action International have been paying frequent visits to the major Latin American cities since last summer and have been collecting information on the various social and political groupings, on their leaders, on the mood of the population and so on under the cover of spreading "useful knowledge" and carrying out "sociological research".

According to the democratic press of Latin America, Action International is in close contact with Washington's special services. Its branch in Venezuela, for example, is headed by Michael Meheren and Michael Edgar, both of whom are C.I.A. agents. The "contact" between the Brazilian and Venezuelan branches of the organisation is Earl Smith, who was U.S. ambassador to Cuba between 1957 and 1959, where he helped dictator Batista to deal with the patriots.

The work of Action International is just another episode in the war which the U.S. imperialist circles unleashed against the liberation movement in Latin America many years ago.

"SPECIAL GROUP"

PRESIDENT Kennedy set up the special Operations Center under the State Department in April 1961, several days after the anti-Cuban hirelings of the C.I.A. suffered a crushing defeat at Playa Giron. Max Frankel, a *New York Times* observer, pointed out that the task of the Center's leaders was to "identify trouble spots abroad and to prepare counter-insurgency plans for quick action, if necessary".¹

President Kennedy, who supported the doctrine of "counter-guerrilla activity", then popu-

lar in Washington, attached great importance to the Special Operations Center. Suffice it to say that he appointed Stephen Smith, his brother-in-law and one of his most trusted advisers, to head that special body. The Special Operations Center, however, failed to play the part in the system of the U.S. foreign policy organs which President Kennedy had envisaged, largely because such powerful bodies as the C.I.A. and the Pentagon were reluctant to waive even a small part of their prerogative.

The idea of a preventive struggle against the liberation movements, however, was not struck out from the U.S. government's agenda. The *U.S. News & World Report* wrote on April 12, 1965, that in subsequent years a bitter dispute broke out between the Central Intelligence Agency, the Army, the Air Force and the State Department concerning the question of who should have the right to put the idea into practice.² In the end, however, they struck a compromise.

The Special Group for Counter-Insurgency was set up at the White House, whose original members included the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Under Secretary of State, Under Secretary of Defence and Deputy Director of the C.I.A. Although the Special Group holds its meetings behind closed doors, there are grounds to conclude from the information that has been recently leaking to the press that "sociological espionage" is among its tasks.

PROJECT CAMELOT

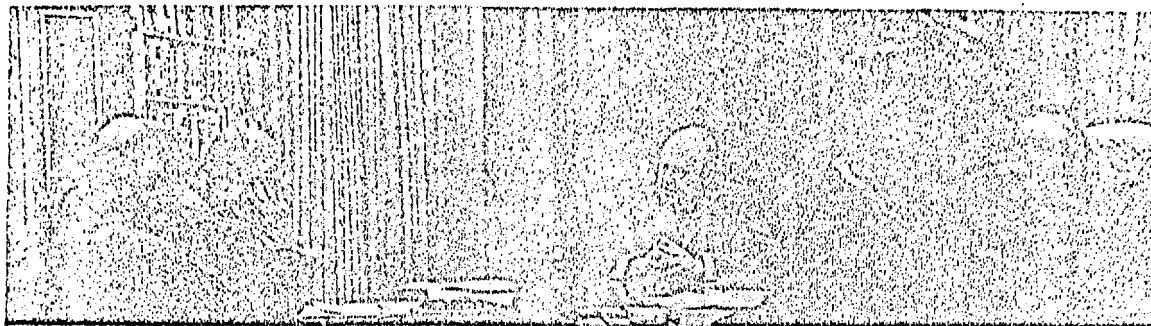
IN June 1965, Hugo Nuttin, a research sociologist at the American University in Washington, called on Professor Eduardo Amuy, head of the Social and Economic Research Centre at

¹ *New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1962.

² See *U.S. News & World Report*, Apr. 12, 1965, p. 49.

APR 7 1979

WHAT'S THE ANSWER TO ABM AND THE WAR?



The Secretary of Defense with members of the staff of "U. S. News & World Report"

As Defense Secretary Laird Sees It—Exclusive Interview

Nixon Administration is caught up in a "great debate" on two fronts—what to do about Vietnam war and about a missile defense inside U. S.

Are the Communists, on the offensive, violating the terms that halted bombing in the North? What are the prospects now for a decisive turn in the war and a cut in U. S. troop strength?

At home, what are the arguments for and against a Safeguard anti-ballistic-missile system to protect U. S. nuclear weapons from attack?

Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird, just back from Vietnam and leading the fight for the ABM, came to the conference room of "U. S. News & World Report" for this interview on both subjects.

Q Mr. Secretary, what do you regard as the No. 1 problem of the Defense Department today?

A The No. 1 problem is ending the war in Southeast Asia.

Q How much time do you have?

A We're hopeful that we will meet with success in the peace talks in Paris. This has to be our objective for a period of time.

This Administration has had only two months to negotiate in Paris. For another two months prior to that, I believe, the other side wasn't too anxious to get down to real negotiations because they felt that a new Administration was coming in on January 20, and they would wait for that.

Q These peace talks have been going on now for almost a year, and they don't even have an agenda yet, do they?

A The Administration would be severely criticized if it did not give a reasonable amount of time to negotiations, hoping for success and trying to work out a settlement.

But we should be prepared and will be prepared, in event that the Paris talks are not successful, to have an alternative plan to follow as far as the conduct of the war is concerned, and in bringing that war in Vietnam to an end.

Q Has the other side been escalating the war in this two-month period?

A There is no question about that. I think that is what part of the bargaining is all about in Paris. Since I have been Secretary of Defense, the only escalation of the war in South

Vietnam has been on the part of the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese.

Q How much more time should be allowed for talking?

A I would not want to set a timetable on the Paris talks. That is something that should be determined by the Secretary of State, and he can make his recommendation to the National Security Council. Then the President will make the decision as to how much time we are going to give to the talks in Paris.

Q During this interval, do we have to go on taking casualties of 300 to 350 Americans a week in Vietnam?

A I would hope not. I would hope that the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese would realize that this offensive of theirs—where they've taken tremendous casualties—has not been a successful operation.

Q We heard the same thing after the Tet offensive a year ago—

A Yes.

Q And war still has gone on for another year—

A I know. We get this argument that we should break off in Paris now. I really feel this is not the time to break off the Paris talks. I am concerned about those casualties in South Vietnam, but I do feel we have to give some more time to negotiations before we move forward on an alternate course.

I want you to know, however, that we are preparing alter-

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What Next for Commander Bucher?

by LLOYD SHEARER

CORONADO, CALIF.

Last month the U.S. Navy's court of inquiry, investigating the North Korean capture of our spy ship *Pueblo*—the Navy prefers to call it an Auxiliary Oceanographic Environmental Research Craft—got into gear.

It is the most publicized hearing of its type in the 194 years of American Naval history, which began in 1775 when George Washington ordered officers and men from his Army to man five schooners and a sloop to prey on inbound English supply vessels.

The *Pueblo* court of inquiry was covered by every major radio and television network in this country, plus 68 journalists representing the domestic and foreign press.

One result of this intensive press coverage and almost daily TV exposure is that Comdr. Lloyd "Pete" Bucher, skipper of the *Pueblo*, is today, in the eyes of the public, the best-known and most identifiable man in the U.S. Navy.

If you doubt that statement, stop any ten pedestrians or as many as you like, ask them if they can identify two prominent Navy officers, one named Moorer, the other named Bucher.

Adm. Thomas Moorer, Chief of Naval Operations and a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is the Navy's highest ranking officer. But publicity-wise, he is understandably enough, no match for Pete Bucher.

Flood of letters

Like it or not, and he doesn't particularly, Bucher at 41 but looking 55, has become a public idol. Circumstances have launched him into a celebrity orbit where he is trying to maintain a "standard" bearing—standard is one of his favorite adjectives—in what is for him a strange environment of congratulatory telegrams, supportive letters, and admiring phone calls, all numbering in the hundreds.

He is also, via his civilian attorney Miles Harvey, the recipient of many "my whole life," and has reportedly lucrative offers for books, articles, TV, radio and club appearances, none of which he can presently accept without before he learns of his next assignment. Navy clearance.

His wife, Rose, has already received \$27,500 from *McCall's* magazine for an article, largely ghost-written, describing her wifely and frustrating efforts to free the *Pueblo* and its crew. While Bucher, in the Pacific, who originally ordered if he resigns from the Navy, can easily, the court to convene.

Admiral Hyland's review and recommendations will then be bucked along to Admiral Moorer in Washington. Moorer in turn will pass his recommendation to Secretary of the Navy John Chaffee.

"Bucher's biography," claims agent Red Hirschorn, "has all the ingredients for a great motion picture: adventure, humor, tragedy, love, danger, and, best of all, a happy ending."

"What I would like to see him do is to play the leading film role himself. I'm sure he can do it. He's intelligent, articulate, photogenic. As an actor, he could lend authority to the part. Even more important, we could probably get him a percentage of the profits, which I feel would be more than sizable. If lucky, he might earn as much as \$2 million."

Pete Bucher has 18 years of Navy service to his retirement credit. He can retire at the end of 20 or 30 years. The choice is his. If he retires at the end of 20 years, he draws 50 percent of his salary or about \$503 a month. If he retires at the end of 30 years, he draws two-thirds of his commander's salary.

There is little doubt that Bucher can probably earn more money outside the Navy than inside. But if there was a man who loved the service with unflagging dedication it's Pete Bucher. Friends say it would take more than money for Bucher to resign his commission. "A bum rap," says an old shipmate, "a serious reprimand by higher authority might do it. Otherwise, I'm sure Pete will pull his 20 or 30 years."

That ends the Navy's immediate chain of command. But Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird will probably take a good, hard, close look at the findings and then pass them along to President Nixon, who has declared publicly that he will review the entire *Pueblo* affair, not only on the basis of the innocence or guilt of Bucher but on the basis of preventing any other such ship loss.

In addition, the *Pueblo* skipper will have to testify before the Senate Armed Forces Committee, and will probably submit to further questioning by Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard, also charged with investigating the cause celebre.

'I love you, Rose'

In fact, Bucher is likely to spend most of this year responding on a number of occasions to the same questions put to him by Capt. William Newsome and the five scrupulously fair admirals who conducted the court of inquiry. He answered these questions in detail—honestly, forthrightly, factually, with a minimum of melodrama until that memorable, emotion-charged Thursday morning when his brown eyes welled up with tears and a lump formed

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in his throat. It was the morning during which he told the court in cracked voice of how, when he thought the North Koreans were about to blow out his brains, "I repeated over and over again the phrase, 'I love you, Rose.' I thought this would keep my mind off what was going to happen."

The two questions the public as well as Bucher are most interested in at this point are (1) will he be court-martialed for having violated Navy regulations, Article 0730? It states: "The commanding officer shall not permit his command to be searched by any person representing a foreign state nor permit any of the personnel under his command to be removed from the command by such person, so long as he has the power to resist." (2) Will he be given command of another U.S. Navy ship?

During the course of the Pueblo court of inquiry, I polled four separate groups on these two questions. They consisted of 38 journalists covering the hearing, 18 retired Navy officers, 30 enlisted Navy men on the amphibious command base, and 12 Navy wives.

These groups agreed almost unanimously, for a variety of reasons, that Comdr. Lloyd Bucher would never again command a Navy ship. And of the 98 persons questioned, only 11 thought that the admirals of the court of inquiry would recommend a court-martial for the Pueblo commander.

Most thought he would be exiled to a safe, non-controversial shore job in some quiet, out-of-the-way Navy installation rarely visited by journalists. There he would be permitted to languish until retirement.

"My guess," said one Navy wife, "is that Pete Bucher will be assigned to a weather station in Key West, Fla."

"My feeling," cracked a reporter, "is that they will send him back to Boys Town to head the Navy ROTC there."

A yeoman second class suggested possible transfer to the U.S. Embassy in Bolivia as our Naval attache.

No scapegoat

Despite what some people may think, the Navy is not attempting to make Commander Bucher a scapegoat. He remains sure that the sins of his superiors, if any are revealed, will not accrue to him. The upper echelons of the Navy are staffed by professional, fair-minded, and humane men, not bloodless martinets, and they will not permit Bucher to suffer for the bad luck or incompetence of others. Even if a few admirals were thusly inclined, President Nixon, a former Navy man like his two presidential predecessors, would not permit

nance it.

The Navy operates on the traditional, helpful, and valid doctrine of accountability. A captain in command of a ship and a ship's company is held accountable for his decisions. If he loses his ship, he must explain its loss before the proper authority and be prepared to accept praise or condemnation.

In the exercise of this doctrine the Navy's motivation may be partially punitive—after all, punishment serves as a deterrent to carelessness and irresponsibility—but it is also motivated by a constructive search for truth to remedy faults in equipment, control, command, and tactics.

The Pueblo was not lost in vain. The Navy has since taken steps to increase the armament of its intelligence ships and to provide them with destruct systems, secret weapons, and rapid scuttling devices.

The crew of the Pueblo had to use sledgehammers to destroy secret gear and tin cans in which to burn secret papers. It had no quick way of scuttling. But its two sister ships, the Banner and Palm Beach, have already been improved 100 percent in those departments.

Moreover, the Navy has re-examined the vital questions of how, where, and when intelligence ships should operate, what captains and crews should do in the case of harassment, and how communications between command and control forces can be bettered.

Even more important, the general public as well as Navy hands now know that according to terms of the U.S.-Japan security treaty, the U.S. is not permitted to launch an attack from any base in Japan unless Japan is being attacked or will grant permission for the strike. This treaty comes up for renewal next year, and Leftist elements in Japan do not want it renewed. They want no U.S. bases, Air, Army, or Naval, on Japanese soil for fear they will, be involved in a war not of their making.

Several Japanese editors have been quick to point out that if aircraft from the Enterprise, 600 miles away from the Pueblo on Jan. 23, 1968, had been ordered to rescue Bucher and his men, North Korean MIG's would have flown out to meet them. An air battle would have ensued. Eventually Japan might have found herself under air bombardment from North Korea.

Bucher testified at the court of inquiry that he was expecting U.S. assistance of some sort from American forces in Japan, South Korea or at sea. "How about a little help out here?" the Pueblo radioed. "These guys mean business."

When no help was forthcoming, Bucher decided that hemmed in as he was by North Korean torpedo and gunboats, he had no alternative but to stall the enemy while his crew destroyed as much secret gear as possible.

To fight back with two .50-caliber machine guns and hand arms, he decided, would have meant the loss of his entire crew.

What would Bucher have gained if he had fought back to the last man, losing his company of 83 men, and in the process creating 38 Pueblo widows and causing 68 children to become fatherless?

A large segment of the public believes that in losing both his ship and men in addition to possibly involving the U.S. in a resumption of war with North Korea, Commander Bucher would have gained nothing but tragedy.

Several veteran Navy officers, however, believe that by resisting, Bucher would have gained honor. He would have been true to the Navy tradition of "don't give up the ship." He would have done his professional duty. He would have shown the North Koreans that they could not violate international law and pirate an American ship without paying some price. He would have added to the prestige of the nation and inspired our soldiers and sailors all down the line.

'Go down fighting'

A representative of such thinking, Adm. Arleigh Burke, former Chief of Naval Operations, says, "A man has to die sometime, and he should die proud. A ship is, after all, a part of your country. A captain doesn't give it up easily. He should go down fighting."

Adm. William Raborn Jr. formerly in charge of the Polaris missile project and later chief of the Central Intelligence Agency, is not so sure.

"When I was first asked," he says, "what I would do if I had been in Bucher's shoes, I said, 'I would've shot the hell out of them. I would've made those North Koreans pay a high price.'"

"But now in retrospect," Raborn asserts, "I think I shot my mouth off. The more I read about the capture of the Pueblo, how Bucher was ordered to lay low, to play it cool, not to be aggressive, the more I realize that no man can truly realize how he would act under those same conditions. I would rescind my previous statement and say that Bucher may have done the right thing. I am not in any position to know, and I do not want to generalize in a spirit of bravado how I would have fought gallantly to

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Nixon Decides to Keep Helms as CIA Chief

By CHARLES W. BAILEY
Chief of the Minneapolis Tribune
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C. —
President-elect Richard Nixon, in an action that could



Helms

have important implications for future U.S. Vietnam policy, announced Monday that he will retain Richard Helms as chief of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Helms, a career officer who has headed the government's principal intelligence-gathering and secret operations agency since mid-1966, has been asked to remain "indefinitely," a Nixon spokesman said.

(NIXON MAY Sit Out Effort to Ratify Nuclear Treaty —Page 30.)

The incoming president took a similar—but shorter-term — step in announcing that he would retain J. Edgar Hoover as head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In Hoover's case, however, the reappointment apparently will be for only about a year.

ALTHOUGH NO limit to Hoover's tenure was specified, it was reported that Nixon expects Hoover to retire before the end of 1969. Hoover will be 75 Jan. 1, 1970.

Nixon's action in retaining Helms, who is 55, was considered significant for two reasons:

It represents a decision by Nixon to stay with a career intelligence "professional" as CIA director rather than bringing a new figure in from outside.

Helms is the first career man to hold the top CIA job

and he has won considerable kudos here for keeping the often - controversial agency out of the limelight into which it was thrust by some earlier much-publicized mid-adventures.

Continuation of Helms' supervision presumably will mean a continuation of the CIA's considerable role in Vietnam and other Southeast Asian countries.

In Vietnam many of the U.S. "pacification" and other nonmilitary programs, as well as some of the more effective secret paramilitary operations, have been conceived, directed, financed and staffed by CIA.

A number of the top U.S. officials in Vietnam have been CIA men, who by and large have spent more time there and gained more sophisticated knowledge of the country than most other American civilian or military personnel.

THE INTELLIGENCE estimates produced for the president by CIA, based on reports from its agents in Vietnam, often have been less optimistic than the forecasts of the military and the State Department.

Helms is known to view his role as CIA director as that of a man who should never advocate policies, but who simply should report facts and judgments to the president.

This view led him into a conflict with some other high officials when CIA estimates of the Vietnam outlook after last year's big Communist offensive were sharply at odds with those expressed by some of President Johnson's key foreign-policy advisers.

NIXON'S DECISION to retain Helms suggests that he agrees with Helms, to whom he has talked several times since election, about the CIA role.

In any event he chose to retain the relatively anonymous intelligence "professional" rather than seek a new director with the flamboyance of Allen Dulles, the public repute of John McCone or the military connections of Adm. William Raborn — to name Helms' ✓

As for the Hoover pointment, Nixon decided that despite chief's age, he should keep him on as a symbol

NIXON'S EMPHA

ing his campaign

problem of crime and his past statements praising Hoover could have made it awkward to remove him, despite the widely held view here that an early change is inevitable.

To keep Hoover on for another year, Nixon will have to sign a formal waiver of the standard requirement that any official over 70 must retire. Mr. Johnson initiated this waiver process for Hoover.

But few here doubted yesterday that Hoover, the only man ever to hold his job, will be retired within a year.

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sors at the CIA.

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Washington Evening Star
December 13, 1968



Retired Navy Vice Adm. William F. Raborn Jr. has been appointed chairman of the 1969 Heart Fund campaign for the Washington Heart Association. The campaign begins Feb. 1. Raborn is a former director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

VIRGINIA SLIP
8 0 NOV 1968

INSIDE WASHINGTON

Democrats Back Chief of CIA

By ROBERT S. ALLEN and
JOHN A. GOLDSMITH

WASHINGTON — President-elect Richard M. Nixon is being strongly urged to retain careerman Richard Helms in his present job as head of the ever-controversial Central Intelligence Agency.

Helms, appointed by President Johnson in 1966, has been with CIA since the big spy agency was established in 1947. His retention would go far towards nailing down a precedent for non-political, career directors of Central Intelligence.

Some of the keep Helms sentiment is being relayed to Nixon by Democratic lawmakers. They are stressing the desirability of career continuity in CIA. They contend that the top CIA job has never been treated as a patronage plum.

They are right that, by accident or by design, no President has ever made a purely partisan appointment of a CIA director. Three of the six CIA heads to date have, in fact, been military men, insulated by their profession from partisan politics.

An oft but forgotten Naval officer, Rear Adm. Roscoe Hickenkoetter, was the first director of Central Intelligence. He had been the head of a predecessor intelligence agency and was appointed by President Truman in 1947, when Congress established the new CIA.

President Eisenhower appointed his World War chief of staff, Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, to succeed Hickenkoetter in 1950. In 1953 Eisenhower appointed Allen W. Dulles as the first civilian director of Central Intelligence, succeeding Smith.

At that time Dulles had an extensive intelligence background. He had been active in the study process which led to the creation of a civilian agency to coordinate all the government's intelligence activities. President Kennedy, as one of his first appointments, announced that he was retaining Dulles.

In 1961, after the ill-fated Bay of Pigs adventure, Democrat Kennedy named a Republican, John A. McCone, to succeed Dulles. McCone had been under secretary of the Air Force and a member of the Atomic Energy Commission in the Eisenhower Administration.

President Johnson named another military man, Adm. William F. Raborn, as McCone's successor in 1965. Helms was named as Raborn's deputy at that time. He was elevated to the top job when Raborn left it a year later.

No mention was made of Helms' politics when he appeared before the Senate Armed Services Committee at the time of his appointment in 1965 and, again, in 1966. His career summary made it clear that he had never held a political job.

A reporter in Europe before World War II, Helms became an intelligence officer during the war. He has been in military and civilian intelligence jobs ever since.

He had been serving as CIA's deputy director for plans under McCone when he was selected for the number two spot with Raborn, who had been the expeditor of the highly successful Polaris submarine program and let it be known, at the outset, that he would stay in CIA for only a short period.

The transition from the hard-driving, spade-calling McCone to short-timer Raborn was a difficult one for CIA, and the elevation of one of their own was hailed by the agency's careerists.



Allen



Goldsmith

The law which created CIA bars appointment of military men requirement has been interpreted as requiring a civilian deputy

for an officer director, and vice versa. If President Nixon sets a career precedent by retaining Helms, the intelligence community, as presently constituted, would seem to have no lack of career talent.

Even the CIA critics agree that it has assembled an able group of employees at its nearby Langley, Va. headquarters and in overseas posts around the world. On the military side, there is the billion-dollar Defense Intelligence Agency, which coordinates separate Army, Navy and Air Force intelligence services. In addition, there is the super, secret National Security Agency, which specializes in codes, cryptography and other electronic intelligence.

Helms' performance as CIA chief and the performance of the agency under his direction is difficult to assess. No government operation in the world is under as steady a drumfire of criticism as CIA, but the agency gets generally high marks from the insiders who are familiar with the intelligence estimates which it produces.

Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford testified earlier this fall that U. S. intelligence operations have improved "substantially" in recent years. He said he accepts and believes the intelligence community's appraisals of Soviet nuclear strength and thinks there is "a higher degree of agreement" in the intelligence community about such national estimates.

Except for an early misunderstanding with Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Helms has had excellent relations with Congress and the House and Senate committees which ride hard on CIA activities. Generally, Helms has, as he promised in 1966, kept CIA out of foreign policy making.

CIA operations came under fire most recently after the recent invasion of Czechoslovakia by troops from Russia and other nations of the Warsaw pact. Critics contended that CIA's warnings of such a move were deficient.

Congressional military experts, who looked carefully into those complaints, say CIA correctly charted the pre-invasion moves of the Warsaw pact armies and reported the possibility of a move into Czechoslovakia. Missing was the definite word that the Kremlin had decided to invade, and some informed authorities doubt whether CIA could be expected to get that tightly-held information.

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bombs or missile capacity. Economic studies are an important part of the work, and virtually everything of possible interest or importance is covered.

Admiral William F. Raborn, former head of the CIA, said two years ago that the CIA has compiled information that adds up to more than 10 times the size of "The Encyclopedia Britannica."

Equally interesting is the CIA claim that it could staff a university. The majority of all of the employees, including clerks and secretaries, hold baccalaureat degrees, 16 per cent have masters degrees and 5 per cent hold doctorates. Thirty per cent of the specialized analysts have Ph.D.'s, and half of the analysts have masters degrees. The number of CIA employees is a matter of secrecy to the general public and many government officials, however.

But if the number of employees is a secret, it is common knowledge that many of them work in a large office building in McLean, Va., just outside of Washington, D.C. According to Culhane, all of the new employees are assigned to Washington for at least the first part of their careers in the CIA.

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Still, many CIA operatives and analysts are scattered throughout the world on either a temporary or permanent basis, and their number is also a secret.



Letters to the Editor

Published letters are subject to condensation, and those not selected for publication will be returned only when accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes. The use of pen names is limited to correspondents whose identity is known to The Star.

More on Chicago

SIR: Having read Mary McGrory, James Kilpatrick and Betty Beale's reports on the Chicago Convention in Sunday's Star, I am wondering why you didn't print on the front page the fact that the police were under great provocation. How would you react if you had had a plastic bag of human excrement flung into your face? There can be no liberty without responsibility and I'm afraid if the American people cannot discipline their lives, then discipline will be imposed of necessity. How is it possible to maintain law and order when one of the apostles of the Civil Rights movement went about the country saying, "If the law is unjust, you do not have to obey it."

Mary C. Shipley.

Frederick, Md.

SIR: Mayor Daley and the leaders of the Democratic party have committed a hideous crime against the people of the United States—the assassination of democracy.

Mr. Humphrey, as the party's nominee for President, party leaders, and the citizenry must protest and take action against the gestapo-like brutality used by the law enforcement officials in Chicago during the convention. Mayor Daley would have been unable to impose his brand of law and order if the Democratic party had refused to cooperate by suspending the proceedings of the convention.

After World War II the American people found it very easy to judge the Germans during the Nuremberg trials. "Nazi terror could never happen in the United States." Hitler did not suddenly appear as the insane conqueror of the world — he gradually rose to power using the Gestapo to enforce his will.

Catherine M. Riegger.
Student, University of Maryland

SIR: I would like to heartily compliment Miss Betty Beale and The Star for carrying her forthright and factual comments on the Chicago convention and the actions of the "yippies" and reactions by the Chicago police.

It is my considered opinion that the news communications in general for various reasons have not fully and accurately portrayed the provocation of general lawlessness displayed by the so-called "yippie" movement.

Vice Admiral W. F. Raborn.
USN (Ret.).

McLean, Va.

SIR: As a member of the younger generation I wish to state that I strongly disagree with the manner in which my fellow youth acted at Chicago. Numerous other young people and many older people reacted negatively to the attempts by the law in attaining order, labeling it "police brutality," Mayor Daley's gestapo, etc. What I ask these so-called peaceful demonstrators is this: How can anyone possibly justify breaking windows, urinating in cellophane bags and throwing them at people (quoted by a columnist of The Star) destroying property, and injuring innocent people as necessary in furthering a just cause? What just cause?

Another item my fellow idealistic students and youth overlook is the question of accurate news coverage of the convention at Chicago. As a student of the Kilpatrick and Betty Beale stressed in their stories — was the fourth estate reporting the facts as they saw them or were they playing on the art of sensationalism to make the interest of their readers?

I make an appeal to all members of the younger generation under 30 and who in 20 years will be directing the energies and destinies of this great nation: (1) Let us stop protesting the bad in this country and start promoting the good instead. (2) Don't use a negative approach in dealing with the "establishment" or older generation, use a positive approach. (3) Let us disprove the common notion that we youth are far too impatient and unrealistic in our demands on society, let us prove that we have the courage, foresight, and patience to change what must be changed, accept what cannot be changed, and be wise enough to distinguish one from the other.

Cindy Whitsitt,
A College Junior.

Wheaton, Md.

SIR: Heartiest congratulations to Betty Beale and James J. Kilpatrick on their excellent and forthright presentation of the other side of the picture. And to David Lawrence also, our thanks.

Admiral Jerauld Wright, U.S.N. (Ret.)
Phyllis Wright.

SIR: The recent disturbance at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago was a result of a skillful, well-planned effort on the part of the bearded, dirty, lawless, rabble that follow such radicals as Thomas Hayden, founder of the Students for a Democratic Society and Jerry Rubin, head of the Youth International Party.

John L. Whitehead,
D.C. Chairman,
Young Americans for Freedom.

SIR: One of the reasons for the popularity of The Star is its integrity. One can get the truth from your writers, no matter how the rest of the media may be lying in their teeth. The Star told the truth about hippie brutality in Chicago and about the amazing self-control of the taunted, insulted police.

James J. Kilpatrick gives the thanks we should all be expressing to Mayor Daley and the Chicago police, for using just enough force needed to restrain the "kids" (who saw their birth certificates?)

Betty Beale tells what really happened on the streets of Chicago.

American Conservative.

SIR: After reading the columns by James J. Kilpatrick and Mary McGrory (Washington Star, September 1st), one wonders whether they were in the same city at the same convention. The same issue of The Star, however, carries several stories that show at least that Kilpatrick was there. It was not apparently just "one or two" of McCarthy's "kids," as Miss McGrory would have us believe, but thousands of them with their foul language, crude behavior, and boastful determination to break up the convention.

John K. McLean.
Alexandria, Va.

SIR: Mary McGrory's "A Militarized Nightmare" read like something out of a dream fantasy. Could anyone who followed the Chicago political demonstrations closely believe that "a Boy Scout Troop could have handled them?"

Donald L. Miller.
Alexandria, Va.

SIR: Congratulations to Betty Beale for her accurate and no punch-pulling reporting of the Chicago "police brutality" story. Perhaps she should take over Mary McGrory's column.

Patricia H. Howell.
Bethesda, Md.

BALTIMORE SUN

10 July 1968

MARINE SCIENCE PUSH ADVOCATED

Rayborn Says Program
Needs More Funds

(By a Sun Staff Correspondent)

Washington, July 9—A former director of the Central Intelligence Agency tonight called for an "augmented and constructive" program to bring about increased expenditures in the field of marine science.

Vice Adm. William F. Rayborn, Jr., USN (Ret.), vice president and general representative of Aerojet-General Corporation, told a Marine Technology Society gathering that unless pressure is brought to bear on Congress and the Administration, "our national marine sciences will undoubtedly remain in the 'step-child' position as far as yearly budgets are concerned."

Admiral Raborn urged his audience to "move ahead" instead of bowing to what he called "great pressures for unwise reduction in expenditures" in this area.

Referring to the planned \$6,000,000,000 decrease in the national spending budget for fiscal 1969, the admiral warned against allowing "our hopes and plans (to) go down the drain on the altar of expediency."

About 1,200 of the nearly 2,000

delegates attending the fourth annual conference and exposition of the Marine Technology Society at the Sheraton-Park Hotel here are expected to be on hand for Admiral Raborn's banquet address.

More than 100 commercial companies are represented at the conference and exposition, which features exhibits by firms active in the various fields of marine technology.

Increase Questioned

Scolding the Administration for not providing enough money in its budget for the coming fiscal year for marine technology, Admiral Raborn said the \$78,000,000 increase over appropriations for fiscal year 1968 "does not impress me as much of an increase when we consider inflation costs and particularly what we should be doing."

He called for "extensive and effective salesmanship on a continuing basis" to keep the problems of oceanographic research "in the public eye."

2 June 1968

Disinformation

MY SILENT WAR. By Kim Philby, 262 pp. New York: Grove, \$5.95.

"To the comrades who showed me the way to service."

That mocking phrase, the dedication of the book purporting to be Kim Philby's "own story," is all the review that is really needed, for it advertises at once both the true authorship and the utter untrustworthiness of what is to follow.

Kim Philby (is there anyone left on either side of the Atlantic who has not heard his tale by now?) became a Marxist at Cambridge in the early 1930's. Already a Soviet agent, he entered British war-time intelligence (through a door opened by Guy Burgess) and in 1945 became head of the British counterespionage effort against the Soviets.

He served for a while in Washington as liaison officer to the FBI and the CIA, but was forced to resign in 1951 when the defection of Burgess and Maclean focused suspicion on him. Positive proof of his treachery did not reach the West until the early 1960s, whereupon he promptly fled to Moscow. At last reports he had there shed his third wife and taken up with Mrs. Maclean.

IN A BRILLIANT essay commenting at length on this case, Hugh Trevor-Roper has pointed out that if "communism may be a political nuisance to some, to others it is a religion — perhaps the only religion which can still totally paralyse the mental and moral faculties of its converts and cause them to commit any turpitude, and to suffer any indignity, for its sake."

Philby was just such a convert, and the intellectual cantery he accepted burnt away his critical spirit, his moral conscience and all vestiges of integrity, and for three decades permitted him to betray and destroy friends without a quiver. (And this was no parlor game; men fighting for what they believed in were killed and im-

Not once in all those years did Philby question the utility, the objectives or the ethics of what he was doing, nor did he ask for any reward but the approbation of his Soviet masters — the "comrades" of his dedication.

WITH PHILBY'S flight to Moscow all possible service he could perform for the KGB had come to an end; there was nothing left but a residual propaganda play, to which Philby lent himself as well, and this book is the result. The 12th Department of the KGB bears the interesting title "Disinformation"; its purpose is to spread by whatever means come to hand confusion and deception in Western peoples and governments. Page by page, "My Secret War" follows the Disinformation line; case after ancient case is disinterred and propped up just long enough for the KGB to get its hooks in.

As usual, the 12 Department has difficulty with Western names; it is hard to imagine Philby, a fluent German speaker, referring to the head of the Western intelligence service as "von" Gehlen, or to Admiral "Rabone" as the Director of the CIA.

FOR THE last five years or so two KGB Illegals, Peter and Helen Kroger (who were born Morris and Hona Cohen in New York) have been sitting in jail in England. The KGB finds this painful, as they have more or less promised their agents that if they are caught with their hands in the cookie jar the Soviet Union will come riding to the rescue to spring them. All previous Soviet efforts to extort a release for the Krogers have failed and the latest KGB attempt consisted of an offer not to publish Philby's memoirs — a clear indication of why they were written and who controlled them. To this the British properly replied "Publish and be damned." Hopefully Grove Press will send the Krogers a copy.

JEWELLYN CHARD



KIM PHILBY IN 1967
Photographed in Moscow by His Son

VIPs Discuss Pueblo Affair and Politics at 'Meet the Press' Party

By BETTY BEALE
Star Staff Writer

Jim Farley came all the way down from New York yesterday for a party; so did Pauline Frederick; senators flocked over from the Hill and Cabinet members dropped by for NBC's "Meet the Press" reception at the Statler.

Walter Scott, chairman, and Julian Goodman, president of the broadcasting company, were giving a 20th-anniversary celebration in honor of Lawrence Spivak and his long-lasting program.

Looking around the Presidential Room of the Statler was like reviewing the faces that have appeared on the program. Hundreds of men were there from the official and journalistic worlds, but only a handful of women and nearly all scribes. The ratio of girls to boys, in fact, was rather sensational.

Farley said that Nixon, not Rockefeller, will be the GOP presidential candidate if he wins the New Hampshire and Wisconsin primaries, and Johnson will definitely carry New York.

Adm. William Raborn, former head of CIA, said he hoped the USS Pueblo, captured by North Koreans yesterday, destroyed its records before being taken into custody.

Rep. Porter Hardy of Virginia said he wanted to know why the Pueblo had no nearby protection, why it could be surrounded by Korean boats and MIG aircraft and not have a single U.S. ship close enough to come to its aid.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield expressed concern only over being already so involved in Asia when someone suggested that the United States should notify the North Koreans they had 24 hours in which to return ship and crew intact or become the target of some type of American bomb.

Larry Spivak was in favor of that course of action. If you have power you have to use it, or you're in trouble, he said. "That's the way the British did." The lives of Englishmen were protected wherever they were.

REP. MENDEL RIVERS was asked what he thought of Clark Clifford's appointment as secretary of defense. The chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, who is

not noted for his love of McNamara, replied: "We had no way to go but up."

Incidentally, he told Alexander de Seversky, the air and space-power expert, that he

had read every book he had ever written.

British Ambassador Sir Patrick Dean, who appreciated the commiserating comments of an English sympathizer,

said his countrymen face greater hardships. The first step, he said, was the devaluation of the pound. The second was cutting down on their

commitments, and now the third will be higher taxes.

Because of the magnitude of business done by the English military, economic and other missions at the embassy here,

he foresaw no plans now for reducing the embassy staff in Washington.

Treasury Secretary Fowler and Sens. Symington and Fulbright were there, and John

Bailey, Mary Brooks (who was enroute to hear the GOP

"state of the nation" talks on TV, the Belgian, French and Turkish ambassadors, Secre-

tary Bill Wirtz, Betty Furness, May Craig (whom Larry called the biggest star of his panel) and Mexico, Mo. publisher Bob White.